

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EUR-10 PM-03 CIAE-00 INR-10

NSAE-00 RSC-01 NSC-10 NSCE-00 DRC-01 /060 W

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R 171437Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9298

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 18052

LIMDIS

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL: SHAPE FOR INTAF

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, GW

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: LINKAGE OF PHASES

BEGIN SUMMARY; DURING DEC 14 TOUR D'HORIZON FOLLOWING CONCLUSION OF FIRST STAGE OF VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS, FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH TOOK CAUTIOUS APPROACH ON HANDLING LINKAGE ISSUE WITH SOVIETS, FLOATED IDEA OF NATO AND WP DETERMINING RESPECTIVE COMPONENTS OF MBFR II REDUCTIONS AND INDICATED THAT CONNECTION BETWEEN MBFR AND BUNDESWEHR REORGANIZATION REMAINS VERY UNCLEAR. ROTH'S COMMENTS ON VERIFICATION AND EC-9 CONSULTATIONS ON MBFR ARE TREATED BY SEPTELS. END SUMMARY.

1. AMBASSADOR ROTH TOLD EMBOFF HE THOUGHT THE ALLIANCE HAD HELD TOGETHER WELL DURING THE FIRST STAGE OF THE VIENNA MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. HE JUDGED THE SOVIET PROPOSAL
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TO BE UNSOUND IN SEVERAL RESPECTS AND BELIEVED THE

RUSSIAN MBFR DEL KNEW THIS TO BE THE CASE. ROTH ASSAYED THE CHIEF SOVIET MBFR OBJECTIVE AS BEING POLITICAL IN CHARACTER, NAMELY, TO DENY WESTERN EUROPE THE OPTION OF MOVING TOWARD INTENSIFIED DEFENSE COOPERATION, AND EVENTUALLY, TOWARD A EUROPEAN DEFENSE COMMUNITY. ROTH BELIEVED MOSCOW WOULD BE PREPARED TO REDUCE SOME FORCES, PREFERABLY IN THE CONTEXT OF EXISTING EAST-WEST FORCE RATIOS, IN ORDER TO BLOCK SUCH A WESTERN DEVELOPMENT. FOR THIS REASON, THE SOVIETS HAVE PUSHED STRONGLY IN THE FIRST WEEKS AT VIENNA FOR INCLUSION OF EUROPEAN NATIONAL FORCES AND PARTICULARLY THE BUNDESWEHR IN ANY MBFR REDUCTIONS. IN ROTH'S VIEW, THE WESTERN DELS ARE PROPERLY PRESSING FOR A MORE STABLE MILITARY BALANCE WHILE GUARDING AGAINST ANY ELEMENTS WHICH COULD FORECLOSE INTENSIFIED EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION.

2. TO THESE ENDS, ROTH SAID IT IS IMPORTANT TO GAIN SOVIET ACCEPTANCE AT AN EARLY STAGE FOR LIMITING MBFR I REDUCTIONS TO U.S. AND RUSSIAN FORCES. UNTIL IT BECOMES CLEAR WHETHER MBFR I REDUCTIONS WILL BE SO CIRCUMSCRIBED, ROTH BELIEVES THE ISSUE OF LINKAGE BETWEEN THE TWO MBFR PHASES SHOULD BE HANDLED WITH THE UTMOST CIRCUMSPECTION WITH SOVIETS. THE TIME NEEDED TO IMPLEMENT MBFR I MUST ALSO REMAIN UNCLEAR UNTIL ONE KNOWS WHAT IT IS THAT MUST BE IMPLEMENTED. EVENTUAL INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR ELEMENTS IN MBFR I AGREEMENT OBVIOUSLY WOULD HAVE SOME BEARING ON THE TIME REQUIRED FOR IMPLEMENTATION.

3. ROTH SAID THERE MIGHT BE SEVERAL WAYS IN WHICH THE WEST MIGHT SEEK TO GAIN SOVIET ASSENT TO AN MBFR I REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT LIMITED TO U.S. AND SOVIET FORCES. ONE COULD THINK OF MORE OR LESS RESTRICTED OR QUALIFIED FORMULATIONS ON LINKAGE. THE DEGREE OF SOVIET FLEXIBILITY CONCERNING COMMON CEILING CONCEPT, AVOIDANCE OF MBFR II SUB-CEILINGS AND ATTITUDE TOWARD IMPLEMENTATION ISSUE ALL WOULD BEAR ON TIMING AND CHARACTER OF WESTERN POSITION ON LINKAGE ISSUE. THE WEST ALSO WOULD HAVE TO EXAMINE WHAT OTHER

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BARGAINING CHIPS IT MIGHT HAVE; THE NUCLEAR ISSUE IS ONE AND THERE MAY BE OTHERS BESIDES THE PROSPECT OF WESTERN INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS.

4. IF IT IS THE ALLIED DESIRE TO TREAT LINKAGE QUESTION PRUDENTLY WITH SOVIETS AT OR SOON AFTER JANUARY RESUMPTION OF VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS, THEN, IN ROTH'S VIEW, IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR NATO TO CONSIDER GENERALLY AND

TO A SOMEWHAT GREATER EXTENT THE CONTENT OF MBFR II REDUCTIONS. IN THIS CONNECTION, ROTH SAID HE ASSUMED MBFR I MIGHT PRODUCE BINDING AND RATHER FORMAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN U.S. AND USSR, PROBABLY WITH PARTICULAR PROTOCOL(S) SIGNED BY OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES; (HE

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 18052

LIMDIS

EXPRESSED INTEREST IN U.S. VIEWS ON FORM OF MBFR I AGREEMENT). MBFR I AGREEMENT PROTOCOL MIGHT DEAL WITH LINKAGE ISSUE. THE SECOND PHASE WOULD INVOLVE REDUCTION OF FORCES FROM SEVERAL PARTICIPATING STATES, AND MIGHT RAISE PARTICULAR PROBLEMS FOR WEST EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. ROTH THEREFORE WONDERED WHETHER THIS MIGHT NOT BE BETTER HANDLED SIMPLY BY PROTOCOL SIGNED BY GOVERNMENTS, WHO WOULD AGREE THAT ALLIANCES WOULD RESPECTIVELY DETERMINE HOW EACH WOULD TAKE THE REDUCTIONS AGREED TO IN MBFR II NEGOTIATIONS. ROTH SAID HE RECOGNIZED THE POSSIBLE PROBLEMS INVOLVED WITH THIS CONCEPT--ALLIANCES ARE NOT LEGAL PERSONS THE QUESTION OF VERIFICATION, AND, PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT, THE POSSIBILITY THAT THIS COULD PROVIDE A WAY FOR THE

RED ARMY TO AVOID FURTHER REDUCTIONS IN MBFR II. EMBOFF
COMMENTED THAT THIS LATTER CONSIDERATION
SEEMED TO BE A PARTICULARLY WEIGHY ONE.

5. AS TO RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BUNDESWEHR REORGANIZATION
AND MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, ROTH SAID HE HAD MET WITH ONLY
FRUSTRATION IN SEEKING ANSWERS FROM THE DEFENSE

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MINISTRY TO SEVERAL OF THE QUESTIONS SEPARATELY RAISED
IN VIENNA 10116. AS WE REPORTED IN BONN 17564, ROTH
AND OTHER FONOFF OFFICIALS ARE VERY SKEPTICAL CONCERNING
SOVIET READINESS TO ACCEPT EFFECTS OF ALREADY PLANNED
BUNDESWEHR REORGANIZATION AS GERMAN MBFR "REDUCTIONS."
ROTH ALSO STRONGLY DOUBTED ACCURACY OF 495,000 MAN
FIGURE FOR ACTUAL BUNDESWEHR FORCE STRENGTH. HE
ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THE "READY
RESERVE" TO BE CREATED BY REORGANIZATION .PLAN WOULD BE
COUNTED AS ACTIVE FORCE SUBJECT TO THE COMMON CEILING
OR AS RESERVE FORCES EXEMPT FROM IT. ROTH TENDS TO SEE
BUNDESWEHR REORGANIZATION MORE IN TERMS OF EFFORT TO
MEET DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURES AND AS CONTAINING LESS
SUBSTANCE THAN MEETS THE EYE. IN ANY CASE, THE QUES-
TIONS RAISED IN THE CITED TELEGRAM FROM U.S. MBFR DEL
SO FAR REMAIN UNANSWERED IN GERMAN GOVERNMENT.
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